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Banda Bahādur's Rebellion, 1710-16 From Muḥammad Hādī Kāmwar Khān, *Tazkiratu's Salāṭīn Chaghata*

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Some time in 1724, a retired Mughal official and scholar, Muḥammad Hādī Kāmwar Khān, completed a full-scale history of the Mughal dynasty. This was in two volumes, the first brought down to the death of Jahāngīr (completed, 1723), and the other, to 21 January 1724, when it ends suddenly. The portion of Vol.II, giving a narrative of events from Bahādur Shāh's accession (1707) onwards is exceptionally important, since here the author directly draws on official and semi-official *sawāniḥ* and *waqā'i* (news reports, especially of the Court), supplemented by his own observations. The chronological framework is thus strong, and the work is most helpful in fixing dates.

The account of Banda Bahādur's rebellion is similarly drawn from official reports, but there is a vivid eye-witness description of the battle between his forces and the Mughal troops under Emperor Bahādur Shāh himself in the hills near Sādhaura. The translation is made from Muzaffar Alam's edition of the latter portion (covering the period 1707-24) of Vol.II, published from Aligarh/Bombay, 1980.

TRANSLATION

I

Pp.93-94

Among the various occurrences of this year [Shāh 'Ālam

4 R.Y.= AD 1710] is that a person who was an ignoramus, false in religion, and an outcast, had a few months previously appeared in the Siwālik hills and became famous for his spiritual illuminations and miraculous powers. A large number of persons belonging to the class of sweepers and tanners, and the community of *banjāras* and others of base and lowly castes, assembled around him and became his disciples. The person* gave himself the title of "Fat'h Shāh". First, he ravaged the township of Sādhaura and after that he destroyed and burnt a large number of vilages and towns and, having killed the Muslim inhabitants and their families, he headed towards Sahrind [Sirhind]. Wazīr Khān had since long been holding the *faujdārī* of that place; he was descended from Wazīr Khān Akbar Shāhī [a noble under Akbar]. He [Wazīr Khān] came out for a distance of 8 *kurohs* from Sahrind and a fierce battle and heavy slaughter took place, and his principal officers were killed. He too was driven by his sense of pride to engage these faithless heretics and so tasted the drink of martyrdom. His son, relatives and friends and the *pīrzādas* [men of mystic families] of Sahrind, along with their families, fled towards the Capital [Delhi]. These rebels* who were as numerous as ants and locusts, reached Sahrind in a twinkling of the eye, and collected about rupees two crores in cash and goods from the effects of the above mentioned Khān and a few lakhs from the effects of Suchānand, his *peshkār* (clerk) and other Muslims of this place. They left no stone unturned in inflicting insult and humiliation and burnt that beautiful town and its good buildings. They strengthened its fort and turned their attention to other towns and villages. So one army of theirs* went towards Lahore and sacked Parasrūr, Aimanābād [Emanabad] and other old prosperous settlements. A great calamity also befell Shāhābād, Thānesar and other towns, and those settlements too were razed to the ground; the mosques too were destroyed. They then dispersed towards Sahāranpūr and Būriya. Out of evil-heartedness and natural villainy, they slew unweaned Muslim children, winning for themselves a place in hell. After these distressing events were reported to the Court, Imperial *farmāns* and orders were issued to Khān-i Daurān Bahādur, the Governor of Awadh, Muḥammad Amīn Khān Chīn Bahādur, *faujdār* of Murādābād, Khān-i Khānān Bahādur, the Governor of *ṣūba* Allahabad, and Saiyid 'Abdullāh Khān Bāraha, that they should proceed to the Capital [Delhi] and, in consultation with Nizāmu'l Mulk Āṣafu'ddaula, set out to punish this rabble.

II

P.103

It was reported to the Court that Shamsuddīn Khān, *faujdār* of Doāba Bet Jālandhar, engaged the rebels* in a battle on 19 Sha'bān [13 October 1710], putting many to the sword and obtaining victory. The Emperor observed: "This is put to his credit."

....

Rustam Dil Khān Bahādur reported that on the fourth of the present month [Ramazān, = 27 October 1710], Fīroz Khān Mewāti engaged the rebels* in battle between Indrī and Karnāl. Cutting off three hundred heads, he sent them to the Court. The Emperor observed: "Put this to his credit." In reward of his good performance he was appointed *faujdār* of Sahrind, and six robes of honour were conferred on him and his colleagues.

On the 18th [of Ramazān, = 10 November 1710], the Imperial Camp was set up at the masonry bridge at Karnāl. Rustam Dil Khān submitted that the followers of that man* [Banda Bahādur], who had established themselves at Thānesar and other towns and villages, have fled upon the approach of the Imperial army. The Bakhshīu'l Mamālik "Amīru'l Umarā Nuṣrat Jang was ordered to prepare a roll of the troops, this being as follows: In the train of the elder Prince: 31,000 horse; in the train of each of the three other Princes: 15,000 horse; with Jumdatu'l Mulk [Mun'im Khān]: 11,000 horse; with Mahābat Khān: 7,000 horse...

On 22nd of that month [14 November 1710] the Imperial camp was set near A'zamābād Talāori, which had been renamed 'Ālamgīrpūr. Rustam Dil Khān presented to the Emperor a gold-embossed shield which Fīroz Khān had seized from the rebels* and sent to the Court. He reported that the said [Fīroz] Khān, beating and repulsing the rebels,* had advanced from Thānesar to Shahabad ...

III

Pp.105-108

On the sixth of Shawwāl [28 November 1710], the Emperor marched from the vicinity of Shāhābād to encamp near village Aukālā. Muḥammad Amīn Khān Chīn Bahādur was ordered to chastise the accursed ones. It was reported that the wretch [Banda Bahādur] has sent three thousand horse and three thousand foot from Sādhaura to this side to establish entrenchments. Rustam Dil Khān Bahādur reported that the base rabble marching into the

garden of Ya'qūb Khān, fought a battle with the Afghāns, 'Umar Khān and Zaid Khān, and, being discomfited, have fled into the fort of Sahrind. Orders were issued that Muḥammad Amin Khān Chīn Bahādur should march immediately and lay siege to Sahrind. On the thirteenth [5 December 1710] after three marches, the Imperial camp was set up in the vicinity of Sādhaura. The army of the rebels* fled and took shelter in the hills. Three hundred heads of the rebels,* a few *nishāns* (banners) and rockets (*bāns*) [of the enemy] sent by Muḥammad Amin Chīn Bahādur and Shams Khān were shown to the Emperor. It was repeatedly represented to the Emperor by young and old that the ill-fated wretch was so expert in magic and sorcery as to exceed in skill the Samaritan sorcerers. Flames of fire [it was said] come out of his banners (?) and rockets, and his followers seldom receive wounds from swords and spears. From such baseless talk the Emperor, nobles and soldiery were much worried and perplexed. A *farmān* was issued to Rustam Dil Khān Bahādur that the advance camp (*peshkhāna*) of the King should be sent ahead, to be fixed at an appropriate place and it be guarded against the mischief of that rabble [Banda's followers], and they should be vigilant. At the time of his departure a special ear-cap was bestowed upon him. On the fourteenth [6 December] it was reported to the Emperor that, as per orders, Jumdatu'l Mulk Khān Bahādur and Mahābat Khān Ghālib Jang, along with their troops, and Afzal *Bakhshī* along with the retainers of Prince Rafī'u'sh Shān had proceeded in escort of the Advance Camp.

On this same date, the rebels* recieved chastisement from the force of Imperial glory. The details of this incident are as follows: when Rustam Dil Khān Bahādur took the Imperial Advance Camp to a distance of two *kurohs*, by the official measure, from the Imperial Camp, the ill-fated rebels* suddenly appeared in the plain and attacked with arrows, rockets and musket shot. The said Khān swooped upon that rabble like a falcon falling on a pigeon, and boldly engaged them. After brave endeavours and heroic attacks, he laid many of them to dust and some of their chieftains also lost their lives. But they also compelled many of the holy warriors [Imperial soldiers] to taste martyrdom and inflicted injuries on a large number. They continually received reinforcements. I was present in the Prince's army and saw with my own eyes that each person from amongst the rebels* came out and engaged in battle with the brave soldiers of the Imperial army, and after much endeavour and effort was put to the sword by the holy warriors. At the same time the Imperial army and the retainers

of the high nobles surrounded and attacked them from all sides, making obsolete the exploits of [the ancient heroes,] Rustam and Isfandyār. A great battle and heavy slaughter took place. Around one thousand five hundred from amongst that evil group along with two of their pseudo-commanders were killed. From the victorious army. Fīroz Khān Mewātī's nephew attained martyrdom and his son was wounded. Around three or four hundred persons from amongst the Imperial soldiers and noble's retainers were wounded.

Around sun-set that doomed host broke up, and, receiving a severe blow, scurried towards the hills. The great nobles caused the drums of victory to be beaten, and the flutes of success were blown. Advancing to a distance of around one and a half *kurohs*, the Advance Camp was pitched. Jumdatu'l Mulk Khān-i Khānān and his son, Mahābat Khān, stood guard on the Imperial Camp. Rustam Dil Khān Bahādur, Afzal Khān and other royal officers advanced a further half *kuroh* and established an assault post on the banks of the River Som. This river had a small amount of water, and on the other side of the river was a plain full of trees. 'The whole night there was much strange noise; and full guard was mounted and vigilance exercised throughout the night. After this victory was reported [to the Emperor], the battle was named after Rustam Dil Khān. This was also proper since heroic deeds were witnessed from him on that day: Though his companions could not bear the brunt and had fled in different directions, he along with forty or fifty horse of his own had stood the ground and did not let the impudence of the enemy overawe him until the whole army joined in the battle and drove away the rebels.' He was favoured with the title of Ghāzī Khān Rustam Jang. His *manṣab* was enhanced to 4000/3000....

On 7th [17th?] Shawwāl [29 November (9 December?) 1710] the Emperor entered the Royal Camp which had been pitched on the banks of River Som. The Jumdatu'l Mulk Khān-i Khānān and Mahābat Khān Bahādur had the privilege of presenting themselves. They were ordered to leave the next day to scout the entrenchments established by the rebels* under the hills. Prince Rafī'u'sh Shān was also ordered to go and make an inspection, and if that doomed group showed impudence, he was to severely chastise that hellish crew.

IV

Pp.108-113.

The Defeat of the Doomed Sect,* False in religion, who call themselves the Followers of Nānak, when they are not the Followers of any old Religion.

On Friday, 19th Shawāl or 18 Āzar month, 4th R.Y. / AH 1122 [11 December 1710], which was a Friday, the Imperial forces under the command of Prince Rafī'ū'sh Shān started for the skirt of the hills of Dābar.¹ The royal forces were formed in the following fashion: The Prince led the van of the Imperial forces, ahead at a quarter of a *kuroh*. Rāo Udīt Singh Bundela commanded the van of the army of the Bakhshī'ul Mulk. Jumdatu'l Mulk Khān-i Khānān [Mun'im Khān], along with his sons, Bakhshī'ul Mulk Mahābat Khān and Khān-i Zamān, marched in the right wing, under the guidance of some persons acquainted with that tract. In their van were the forces of Rāo Satrsāl Bundela and Islām Khān Bahādur, the *Mīr-i Ātish* (head of artillery). Hamīduddīn Khān and Prince 'Azīmush Shān's officers and Jahān Shāh's men also marched with him.

Having determined to write only the true facts, I now leave the testimony of the [official] reports (*waqā'i'*) and proceed to put into writing what I myself saw without ornamentation of any sort. One-fourth quarter of the day had not passed when Jumdatul Mulk Khān-i Khānān along with his colleagues rapidly moved forward upon the entrenchments of the rebels,* that had been established on the hill tops. He launched an attack and a fierce battle ensued with cannon and musket. The warriors, not caring for the enemy's daring in their own love for martyrdom, brought down those doomed ones from the hillocks, by their arrows and musket fire. From the flashing of swords and spears, it appeared that many of the infidels died from sword thrusts as well. About noon the Khān-i Khānān advanced up to the fortified seat of the doomed ones, which they called Lohgarh. Much endeavour and effort was put in from both sides and the market of giving and taking life became brisk. By that time, the Imperial forces, crossing over the plain ground, reached to a distance of a quarter *kuroh* from the wall of Lohgarh. One or two cannon shots fired from the top of the hill fell on the Imperial army, but due to God's Grace no one was hurt. Amīru'l Umarā Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang went slowly [lit. 'drawing back the reins'] and kept on sending the message to the Emperor that caution required one to proceed slowly. Although this appeared to be a piece of advice based on farsightedness, yet

to some farsighted ones it appeared that the negligence and dilatoriness was due to the mutual ill-will and factiousness found among people of the world. The Emperor, to keep him satisfied, stopped for a short while to have his meal in his tent.

Just before the afternoon prayers, heavy smoke and a loud uproar came from the entrenchments of the infidels. I, owing to the ignorance of youth, separated from the Prince's forces, in company with my adopted [son], Khidmatyāb Khān, Khawāja Amānullāh, Qūsbegī of Prince Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, and some others, and proceeded towards the encampment of the infidels. After reaching within an arrow-shot distance of that mud-fort, we drew our reins when a cannon-ball fired from [a gun] made from a tamarind tree came from the top of the hillock and fell on the neck of the horse of a friend of mine. But due to the Grace of God, no harm came to the horse. For a moment both the horse and its rider were rendered senseless, but soon recovered. Just then, Balūch soldiers of the Imperial forces, who had gone inside the fort came out supporting the head and shoulders of an Afghān who had received burns from a gun-powder explosion. From what they said we learnt that the Imperial troops had attacked the fort and were engaged in killing and plundering; and the devoted defenders of that doomed sect were resisting till they were slain by the holy warriors, and that on some hill-tops the doomed rabble were still ready to give fight. Some of them had come into the building at the top of a hill which that person of false religion [Banda] had named Sitāragarh and from where he was shooting arrows and muskets. I along with my companions entered the infidels' entrenchments, and had the sight of what the plunderers [from the Mughal forces] were doing. The plundering Balūch, the Rohīla Afghāns and Balūch of the Imperial Camp, and the boy-retainers from Kābul, were engaged in pillage and were making captive and taking away whole families of women and children of that doomed rabble; they were burning their homes and huts and plundering cash and goods beyond computation. It was from the hands of these pillagers that many gun-powder magazines caught fire, burning many [to death]. The son of Suchānand, the *peshkār* of the late Wazīr Khān and a group of Muslim men and women, whom on that day in their flight that evil crew [Banda's followers] had killed, were found beneath some stones. On seeing such a sight, if one had a heart, one could not but break down and wonder on the changes of fortune.

At that time an Imperial officer, Mirzā Rukn by name,

came from the van and reported that fighting and killing was going on at the passages in the hills and Rustam Dil Khān Bahādur on reaching a white building on the hillock had encircled it, believing that warring Infidel [Banda] himself was inside that building. [He said, however, that] what he believed to be true was that that person of false religion was really sitting under that tent on that hillock and from there watching the endeavours of his devoted followers. His route [of retreat] is quite outside this hillock [which Rustam Dil Khān had encircled].

We were engaged in this conversation when Rāja Udīt Singh Bundela, goaded by the taunts of his rivals like Satrsāl Bundela, was moved to separate himself from the Imperial forces and rush towards that very hillock [containing Banda's tent]. His mounted musketeers occupied a hill-top equal in height to that hillock and began firing from there. That evil one,* who was in that tent with his chosen followers, became desperate and like a demon of the wild, in the depth of despair, escaped by the other side of the hillock. After his flight many of the hillocks which were infested by the rebels,* became empty of them. The said Rāja reached that hillock and through musket fire sent to their death many of the doomed ones who had fled to hills and valleys.

Also by the same device in a befitting manner, the Khān-i Khānān's companions proceeding bravely reddened their hands with the blood of those infidels. Near the time of the sunset prayers, none of the rebels* remained, except those who still fought in the white building. All the wealth, goods, women and children, horses and camels of that doomed sect fell into the hands of the victorious army. The Khān-i Khānān left Rustam Dil Khān to prosecute the siege of that building and himself proceeded, according to imperial orders, along with his sons and companions and the Prince's army to the Imperial camp, to submit a report of the battle. Since in that noise and tumult no one knew what had happened to that rebel* [Banda], he reported that he was being taken prisoner and was being brought a captive. He received much praise and appreciation [from the Emperor]. I, who reached the Imperial camp, saw that the Prince and the Amīru'l Umarā Bahādur were sitting just where they had stood, by imperial orders, and till midnight the noise of battle in the hills, which were nearby, continued to be heard. In late hours of the night a very terrifying sound came so much so that the earth beneath the camp shook. The Imperial *harkāras* (intelligence-gatherers) having arrived, reported that the noise was due to the bursting of the wooden gun, which the doomed crew

had constructed from tamarind-wood and had been firing. At midnight they filled it with gunpowder [and setting it on fire] exploded that gun and fled.

On 20th of Shawwāl [12 December 1710] Rustam Dil Khān captured all the rebels* who were fighting in the building, and brought them before the Emperor along with five elephants, three cannon pieces, seventeen gun-carts, one canopy (*sāibān*), and a few silver sticks, belonging to that rebel [Banda]. He received much praise, and one female elephant out of that booty was conferred on him. According to imperial orders, Sarbarāh Khān, *kotwāl*, put to the sword twelve companions of that rebel* [Banda], of whom the leader was a tobacco-seller, named Gulābā.

Since it was destined that the rebel* [Banda] would receive punishment only in the reign of His Majesty's grandson, Emperor Farrukhsiyar, that infidel, of false religion, was able to escape to safety, despite all the effort of the Emperor, the Prince, and so many high nobles. This displeased the Emperor, and he was not happy after this victory.

Farmāns were sent to the chief of Srinagar [Garhwal] and the chief of Nāhan [Sirmur state] that they should capture that infidel and send him [to the court].... On 25th [17 December 1710] nearly twenty lakh rupees, including *ashrafīs* [gold coins] were collected from Lohgarh after digging up the ground. On the 26th towards the end of the night it began to rain and there was a hailstorm too. ... On 2 Zīqā'd, [23 December] the Emperor moved camp and stay was made at the village of Pūrī. Ḥamīd Khān Bahādur brought Bhūp Prakāsh, son of Harī Prakāsh, *zamīndār* of Nāhan, to the imperial Court. His Majesty ordered that he be imprisoned.

V

Pp. 119-20

[Events of Regnal Year 5 of Bahādur Shāh]

[As Bahādur Shāh marched slowly from the vicinity of Lohgarh (Banda's fort) towards Lahore] on the fourth of Ṣafar [24 March 1711], it was ordered by the Emperor that Bhūp Prakāsh, the chief (*zamīndār*) of Nāhan should be put in the iron cage that had been made for the ill-mannered rebel* [Banda] and be taken with all care to the capital [Delhi], to be imprisoned in the fort of Salīmgarh.² This was done. His mother had sent to the Imperial Court thirty and odd persons of that base sect [Sikhs], so as to secure her son's release.³ They were executed. The Emperor

observed that unless she sends him [Banda] as captive, his [Bhūp Prakāsh's] release is difficult.

B

Pp.125-6, 129

18th [Rabī' II, =5 June 1711], ... it was reported that Shams Khān [ex-*faujdār* of Doāb Beth Jālandhar] and his brother had tasted martyrdom in a battle with the base ones [Sikhs]. 'Īsā Khān Mā'in was appointed deputy-*faujdār* of Doab Beth Jālandhar and honoured with a *manṣab* of 1500 *zāt*, 1000 *sawār*. On 23rd of that month [10 June], the Imperial Camp was pitched near the village of Hoshiārpūr [Jālandhar Doab, on the Emperor's way to Lahore].... It was reported to the Emperor that 'Īsā Khān had inflicted much punishment [in battle] on the rebels.* Since he was one of the suit of the eldest Prince, the Prince received the gift of a robe of honour, sword and ornamented dagger... On the 28th [15 June] it was reported to the Emperor that Muḥammad Amīn Khān Chīn Bahādur and Ghāzī Khān Bahādur Rustam Jang [new titles of Rustam Dil Khān] had overtaken the rebel* [Banda] near Parasrūr and inflicted a heavy defeat on him. He, in a very devastated condition, fled into the Mountains of Jammu. To each of the two commanders, were sent a *farmān*, a robe of honour, a turban ornament (*jīgha*) and a sword with a bejewelled scabbard.

....

On the 19th [Rajab, 31 August 1711] it was reported that Ghāzī Khān Rustam Jang [Rustam Dil Khān] came away, without orders, from the pursuit of the rebel* [Banda] and has alighted in his house. Stern orders were issued to Islām Khān Bahādur, the *Mīr Ātish* [Chief of Artillery], Mahābat Khān Bahādur, Mukhlis Khān Bahādur and Sar Barāh Khān, the *Kotwāl*, that he should be arrested and imprisoned in the fort of Lahore.

VI

[Initial phase of Reign of Farrukh Siyar]

Pp.186, 189

[On 15 Jumāda II 1125, 9 July 1713] Keshav Rāo, *Harkāra* [Intelligencer] presented a report to the Emperor that on the 9th of the month [3 July], 'Abdu's Ṣamad Khān and Zainuddīn Aḥmad Khān had a battle with the rebels.* Many of those doomed ones were put to the sword and, from the Imperial forces, Baqā Beg, etc., tasted martyrdom.

On 20th [of Ramazān, 10 October 1713], Keshav Rāo, *Harkāra*, presented a report to the Emperor, that the rebels,* fleeing from Sādhaura have taken the route of Dābar, many being killed and wounded.

VII

Pp.208-23

[Fourth Regnal Year of Farrukh Siyar]

During these times [around 15th Rabī' I, = 21 March 1715] the news constantly arrived from the Panjāb that that infidel of false religion [Banda], who in the late reign of Khuld Manzil [Bahādur Shāh], having suffered much chastisement, had hidden himself in the ravines of the hills, had now come out of the mountains with a huge host and razed many of the Panjab towns to the ground, extending the hand of cruelty and oppression over the people. A *farmān* was issued to 'Abdu's Ṣamad Khān Diler Jang, that he should personally undertake to chastise that heretic. Qamruddīn Khān Bahādur, son of I'timāduddaula, Afrāsiyāb Khān, the 3rd Bakhshī, Muẓaffar Khān Bahādur, *Rāja* Udīt Singh Bundela, *Rāja* Gopal Singh Bhadauria and many other nobles, honoured with robes of honour, horse and elephant, were ordered to join the expedition against him.

...

The thirteenth of that month [Rabī' II, = 18 April 1715] it was reported that the doomed ones* had established themselves in Gurdāspur, and 'Abdu's Ṣamad Khān Bahādur and other nobles had laid siege to it, and were engaged in setting up batteries and digging entrenchments. I'timāduddaula was ordered to write to them with emphasis that that heretic, together with his dependants must be either killed or captured.

Twenty-sixth [1 May 1715] ... From the news received from the Panjab it was reported that the Imperial forces had driven the besieged to dire straits, and every day as a party of the rebels* comes out it gets slain.

...

From the 26th of that month [Zī'lḥijja, 11 December 1715] the assembly of the celebration of the victory over Mu'izzuddīn [Jahāndar Shāh] was held in the Diwān-i 'Ām... During the noise, music, merry-making and joyousness [of the celebration], I'timāduddaula Bahādur presented to the Emperor the report of 'Abdu's Ṣamad Khān Bahādur Diler Jang, giving the good news of the capture of the heretic* [Banda], with his relations

and dependants. The Emperor offered double prayers to express thanks and made the occasion more joyous and merrier; the nobles offered congratulatory salutations.

[Fifth Regnal Year]

Fifteenth [Rabī' I, = 9 March 1716]: It was reported [to the Emperor] that Qamruddīn Khān Bahādur, son of I'timādu'ddaula, and Zakariyā Khān Bahādur, son of Khān Bahādur Diler Jang, have brought the heretic* [Banda] with his principal men and companions, who had been taken prisoner on 21 Zilhijja [6 December 1715], and are encamped near Agharābād. The order was issued that I'timāduddaula Bahādur should go there and bring that doomed crew, in a manner that is suitable for this base gang, to the Imperial Presence. On the 17th of that month [11 March], I'timāduddaula Bahādur brought into the Fort, that chief of the heretics, placed in an iron cage, along with his principal men and companions, made to wear wooden-hats and to appear strange and ridiculous. To see this doomed* crew, so many people gathered from the city and suburbs that it was difficult to move in the roads and streets, and hard to breathe. The above-mentioned rebel* [Banda], along with Jai Singh, and another, that is, two persons, who were his principal men, were handed over to the *Mir Ātish* Ibrāhīmuddīn Khān to be incarcerated in the Tarpoliya, and his three-year old son, his wife and the son's nurse were handed over to Darbār Khān, Superintendant (*Nāẓir*) of the Harem. Six hundred and ninety-four persons from amongst his followers were handed over to Sar Barāh Khān, the *Kotwāl*, so that every day a party from amongst them might be killed by the sword by the executioners.

The suppression of this tumult was only due to the Emperor's rising good fortune whereby this was achieved through the courage and bravery and excellent tactics of Khān Bahādur Diler Jang. For to wise men it is noteworthy that though His Late Majesty [Bahādur Shāh], with four princes and so many nobles, determined to quell this rebellion, it proved fruitless. This time, the fire of this tumult was extinguished very easily, and that heretic with some thousands of his followers was captured, being ensnared in the web of his own deeds, and several thousand of his doomed followers were driven to death by starvation and thirst during the siege ... [Rewards to I'timāduddaula, Qamruddīn Khān and Zakariyā Khān]. The following weapons of the rebels* were brought and deposited in the Fort by Zakariyā Khān: Swords, 1000; shields, 278; bows, 173; muskets, 180; *jamdhars* [daggers], 114;

knives, 217. Some gold ornaments, 23 [gold] *muhrs*, and six hundred and odd rupees in cash were also deposited in the Imperial Treasury.

Sar Barāh Khān, *Kotwāl*, had a hundred persons of this doomed sect beheaded everyday. By imperial orders he handed over seventeen of his [Banda's] functionaries to the *Mir Ātish* on the 27th [21 March 1716], taking them to the Fort of the Capital [Delhi]. He [the *Kotwāl*] suspended the corpses of the executed persons from trees around the city.

29th [Jumāda II, 20 June 1716]. Sar Barāh, the *Kotwāl*, and Ibrāhīmuddīn Khān, the *Mir Ātish*, had the doomed rebel* [Banda] executed with much torture along with his three-year old son, and twenty-six of his companions, in the proximity of the tomb of Khawāja Qutbuddīn, the saint; and thus the world was cleansed of the presence of that polluted one.

Notes

- ¹ *Dāman-i Kohistān-i Dābar*. This expression suggests that *dābar* should not be taken as a word meaning low-lying floodland, but as a territorial name. However, *Dābar* does not appear on maps, and seems otherwise to be unknown as a name of the district north of Sādhaura.
- ² Bhūp Prakāsh had been captured by Mughal forces raiding Nāhan in pursuit of Banda Bahādur. He was suspected of having let Banda flee through his territory. From the fact that he is designated "*zamīndār* of Nāhan", and, in the subsequent lines, his mother is mentioned as trying for his release, one must infer that his father Hari Prakāsh was by now dead.
- ³ Irvine (*Later Mughals*, I, p. 117) misunderstands this sentence. The thirty-odd men were not emissaries "sent by his mother to plead for his release", but Sikh prisoners sent by the mother to prove her sincerity in fighting Banda, in the hope that this would moderate the Emperor's wrath against her son and so secure his release.